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601 in the following notes. Relationship may also be expressed by a transitive verb formed out of these terms and the causative prefix *wa-* which may be said to correspond to our *be-* as in 'befriend'. For example, *wataman* or *watʃinan* means to stand to a person in the relation of father or mother; *Nomoin wapi'an pi Gav* means 'Nomoin is *pi'an* to Gav' (i.e. is his cross-cousin).

Notes on the relationship terms

1. *Tʃina- : bai'i.*

Tʃina- is applied primarily to the actual mother. Second to her in importance comes the mother's sister, then her ortho-cousins (the daughters of her mother's sister).

On the other side of the family it is given to the father's sisters and his parallel cousins (the daughters of his father's brother). Further, it is used of any woman added to the parental generation on both sides by the fact of her marriage to any of either parent's siblings or parallel cousins.

There is never any confusion in the mind of the speaker between his actual mother and the other women to whom he applies this term. Among these others his feelings of nearness and affection [604] vary in intensity. Nearest to his own mother comes his mother's sister, who, if she should be resident in the same village, has helped to look after him from his earliest babyhood. The relatives on his father's side, i.e. his father's sister and his father's brother's wife, stand further from him, though he will accord them respect and help them if need arise, just as readily as he helps his mother's relations.

● 593 882 The bond between a girl and her actual mother remains very close throughout life, for even if she goes to live with her husband's people, she will often come home for long visits. A boy is taken from his mother when he goes into the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*, and their connexion is henceforth but distant until after the *upi* has been ceremonially removed, perhaps ten years later. During the intervening years he sleeps in the men's house, and consorts only with people of his own sex. After this, he may return to live in his mother's hut, perhaps bringing his wife there, or he may build another hut for himself and his wife. He is then expected to look after his mother and to help her with her heavy work, and to care for her if she is left a widow in her old age.

601 595 In the case of a man with more than one wife, the term *tʃina-* is

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applied by all the children to all of them. But the use of the term does not in this instance imply that any motherly care is shown by one wife towards the children of another. As a rule they live in separate huts, and each looks after her own offspring, the others having much less to do with their co-wife's children than has the latter's sister, except in the case of a man marrying two sisters, when the 'mother's sister' relation holds good. Otherwise, one wife, if she takes any notice at all of the child of another, is more likely to 'put upon' the child if she be a girl, making her run errands and do other work for her. In some instances which came under my notice this was a source of quarrel between the domineering wife and her husband, who took his child's part against her.

The word *tʃinanē* is never used as a form of address. A child calls his mother *na*. Children must never use their mother's personal name, but when they are grown up and the mother is old, they may use some name which has been given to her on a special occasion, perhaps when her husband dies. For example, Tchub may not call his mother by her personal name Diwats, but he may use the name Pasu, which means 'short of breath', and was given to her because her husband fought for breath before he died. It is by this name that she is generally known in the village, the other I learned first while taking her family's genealogy.

2. *Tama- : bai'i.*

The views of these natives in regard to physical paternity and the customary procedure when extra-marital intercourse results in pregnancy are discussed in Chapter IV. For sociological purposes the term *tama-* may be described as applying to the mother's husband. Where a widow or a divorced woman remarries, it is applied by her children to her new husband. In the majority of cases the most important person to whom an individual applies the term *tamanē* ('my father') is actually the child's physiological father. Its extensions are to the father's brother, all the father's male cousins, and the mother's sister's husband.

The bond between a father and his children is a close and affectionate one; it is expressed in caresses while the children are little, and, when they are older, in the lively interest the father takes in all their doings and the affairs of their everyday lives. The connexion between father and son is not interrupted, as is that

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593 between mother and son, when the boy puts on the *upi*, in fact he is then just beginning to be taken out by his father on fishing and hunting expeditions, and to be a real companion to him. It is [584] the father who chooses his son's first wife, often while the son is still quite a small boy. An old father will not infrequently live with his married son. I have known a man to beat his wife severely because he thought she had not taken sufficient care of his father during his own absence. A daughter comes in for a fair share of her father's affection, but I did not notice, in the families which I kept under observation, any marked preference for the daughter [578] over the son. In more than one instance there were apt to be quarrels between a man and his adult daughter, while I did not hear of any marked dissensions between a man and his adult son. One rather striking case was that of a married daughter living a very short distance off, who seemed to consider it no business of hers to come and look after her old father when he was ill, leaving him consistently alone until he died. The villagers did not comment on this neglect as if it were anything unusual.

601 *Tamanē* is not a term of address. A child calls his father *pa*. When he is grown up he may use some secondary name, as in the case of his mother.

3. *Tsoa-: pasu-*.

601 The term *tsoa-* is applied by individuals of both sexes to the
604 mother's brother, the mother's mother's brother's son, and the mother's mother's sister's son, i.e. to the males of the mother's generation on her side of the house, excluding those introduced by marriage. These men call their sister's (or their cousin's) children *pasu-*, irrespective of the children's sex. The man who counts for most in this relationship is the mother's eldest living brother, who is officially head of his sister's household, and possibly of the whole lineage, and is a person of considerable importance, especially if the lineage be *tsumaun*. The extension of the term to the mother's mother's *brother's* son seems curious, as he is, of course, normally of a different clan and does not belong to the lineage group. There are sufficient examples in my genealogies, however, to authenticate this. The term is not applied to any relative on the father's side of the house, the males of the father's generation on his side of the house being known as *tama-*.

604 The *tsoa-* does not necessarily enjoin discipline, or dispense

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punishment, since but little of either falls to the lot of the children of these natives, and what little there is is just as likely to be in the hands of mother or father as of *tsoa-*. But the relationship seems throughout to be an official rather than a personal one. It is most in evidence during ceremonial procedure, and will be discussed in this respect in various portions of this book. This does not mean that there is no affection between *tsoa-* and *pasu-*, but that depends entirely on the personalities of the individuals.

The *tsoa-* shares with the father the training of the boy in hunting and fishing. If he lives in another village, his nephew will go and stay for long periods in that village, sleeping, if he wears the *upi*, in the men's house belonging to his clan, but being provided with food by the wife of his *tsoa*. In the case of a boy who stands in the direct line of succession to the headship of a tsunaun lineage, the *tsoa-* must, as the young man grows up, teach him certain ceremonial observances which he will later be called upon to carry out. This right cannot be alienated from him, even though he be not fitted for the responsibility. Pinari had decided to allow Kakari, his *pasu-*, to conduct the approaching *watawutʃ* ceremony, under his supervision, so that he would know the ritual. But he had no great confidence in Kakari, who is a somewhat casual and inefficient young man, so he intended to include his own son Wasĕ in the instruction, and let him share the responsibility for the ceremony with Kakari. This was not according to rule, but Pinari considered that he was within his rights in so doing, and no one gainsaid him. He could not alienate the succession from Kakari, but it was very evident that had it been possible he would have done so. His sister Pari told me that he was secretly very much displeased with Kakari for his slackness, but that he was 'ashamed' to scold him about it because Kakari was the heir. In this particular case the personal preference for the son over the sister's son was very marked, and I do not think the case was an isolated one.[1] In many instances known to me, the son, and not the maternal nephew, was the recipient of special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, such as rain-making or love charms.

While there are no taboos governing the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship, when the nephew is grown up there is always a certain amount of reserve between the two. A man's *tsoa-* would not go

[1] The social implications of a situation of this kind are discussed by Malinowski, who found it occurring in the Trobriands (1926 (1), pp. 100 ff.).

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to his house if he were not there, it would be considered an insult to the *pasu-*'s wife though he calls her by the same term as his own son's wife, to whom he would go freely.

A man owes certain duties to his *tsoa-*, the chief of which was, in the olden days, to assist him in fighting. He must provide the greater part of the food for his *tsoa-* in old age.

In the case of a female the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship seems to count for less than with a male, perhaps because there is no question of succession. No specially interesting incidents illustrating the relation between a girl and her mother's brother came under my notice, other than the very exceptional case of rape discussed on p. 77.

4. *Kiar* (term used reciprocally).

To understand many of the terms in this relationship system it is essential to bear in mind the way in which the use of the words *kiar* and *wevnē-* differs from our use of the words 'brother' and 'sister'. Whereas our usage depends upon the sex of the person spoken of, the Melanesian usage depends upon the sex of the speaker. That is to say, while we use 'brother' or 'sister' according to whether the sibling to whom we refer is male or female, the Melanesian uses *kiar* if he is referring to a sibling of the same sex as himself, and *wevnē-* in referring to a sibling of the opposite sex. It follows that *kiar* is applied by a man to his brother and by a woman to her sister, while *wevnē-* is applied by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother. No distinction is made according to whether the speaker is older or younger than the person spoken of.

By extension the term *kiar* is used between parallel cousins of the same sex, i.e. by the children of two brothers or of two sisters. No special designation is used between 'ortho-cousins', i.e. cousins in the line in which descent is reckoned, in this case the children of two sisters. But, in practice, the relationship between such is closer than that between the children of two brothers, and unless great precision is used in investigating the facts, the distinction between ortho-cousins and blood brothers and sisters is very easy to overlook; it appears frequently to be ignored, if not actually lost sight of, by the individuals concerned.

This is a very close and friendly relationship. A person's *kiar* is the first to whom he turns for help in any enterprise, and is the

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only relative whose property, such as coco-nuts or areca-nut, he may requisition if necessary. Two women who are *kiar* will work together and will look after each other's children. If one dies, the other will take her sister's baby and suckle it, if she is in a position to do so. They are very often both married to the same man, but there is, so far as my knowledge goes, less friction between them than between co-wives who are unrelated. It is not uncommon for two brothers to marry two sisters, and to build huts next door to one another.

Kiar may be used as a term of address, and so far as I know there is no alternative vocative form.

One of the women of Kurtatchi adopted me as her *kiar*, on her own initiative. She never failed to respond to any request I made of her, and would let me have a supply of taro even when she had not too large a store for herself. In return she considered herself entitled to ask me for tobacco once in a while, a concession I never permitted to others, but she did not abuse the privilege. I used sometimes to work in her taro garden, which pleased her very much, being the proper thing for a *kiar* to do.

5. *Wevnē-* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used only between people of opposite sexes, in accordance with the rule discussed in the preceding note. It is applied, primarily, by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother, and also to parallel cousins, i.e. the children of the mother's sister and of the father's brother, provided they are of the opposite sex to the speaker, that is to say, to the children (of the appropriate sex) of any person the parents call *kiar*. While both are little the relation between *wevnē-* is very similar to that between *kiar*. If the girl be the elder, she looks after her little brother, pets him, and carries him about. Little boys are usually immensely pleased with their baby sisters. Several whom I knew well were always dragging me off to admire their little sisters and to see what they could do.

Withdrawal of intimacy begins abruptly when the boy is sent to the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*. As long as he wears it his contact with his sister is reduced to a minimum, since he is strictly debarred from all but the most distant necessary converse with girls and women. After he has finished the *upi* ceremonies this prohibition is removed, but though there is no actual

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taboo attached to the *wevnē-* relationship, there is a feeling of 'shame' between them which persists throughout life. They would be 'ashamed' to talk to each other without other people present. If a man's *wevnē-* calls him to come and take some food from her he may do so, but more probably he will be 'ashamed' and will pretend not to hear her.

Jokes on sexual subjects may not be passed by anybody with a woman in the presence of her brother. But traditional stories involving sexual situations were told me freely by persons of both sexes in the presence of their *wevnē-*. It is not correct to bandy with a woman, while her brother is present, certain slightly improper words, which in the general way are looked upon much as we look on slang.[1] Still less should expressions which are actually regarded as obscene be used under these circumstances. One day a man living near me, in a rage with his wife, accused her of having improper relations with another man, using one of these expressions. Her brother overheard it, and was furious, not at such things having been said to his sister, but at their having been said in his hearing. He said he would go away, and then her husband could swear at her as much as he liked. He did actually leave the village, and did not return for several days, staying meanwhile with some people who were camping at the taro garden.

6. *Wagun* (term used reciprocally).

The use of this term and the next following will be best understood if considered in the light of the explanation given of the application of the terms *kiar* and *wevnē-*. *Wagun* is employed by males in reference to females and by females in reference to males, never between persons of the same sex. A man applies it to the wife of any one he calls *kiar*, and a wife to any one her husband calls *kiar*. We might say it applies to 'in-laws' of the same generation as the speaker but of the opposite sex.

[1] The existence of this rule I learnt by breaking it. There is a certain word, *biak*, an abbreviation of *bībiak*, which means 'faeces', but is used much as we use the expression 'Rot!' to indicate jocular disbelief in something that has been said. Having been taught this by Marotē as the proper retort to make on a previous occasion, I once jokingly countered with it a remark of her own. She immediately became quite serious and changed the subject. When she had me alone she explained that I ought not to have said it to her while her brother was listening. I was forgiven on the score of ignorance, and obtained much enlightenment on the rules of the *wevnē-* relationship as the result of my innocent breach of good manners.

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593 The time when the girl is handed over to her husband is, in every case, judging both from what I have seen and from what the girls themselves have told me, a period of strain. It not infrequently happens that the young wife, whether from actual fear or merely from shyness, runs away before the marriage can be consummated, and takes refuge with her mother. Her mother is supposed to bring her back, together with an offering of ceremonial pudding, but sometimes much persuasion, or even force, is necessary before she can be induced to return. An instance of this came under my personal observation. Gerigir is a young man of perhaps nineteen or twenty, his wife, Kalo, perhaps thirteen or fourteen. She belongs to a village several miles distant. She did not want to be married, and has frequently run away and returned to her mother. On one occasion she stayed away for several months, and this came to the notice of Pinari, who keeps a sharp eye on all that happens in his village. He finally asked Gerigir why his wife was not living with him. It turned out that he had never consummated the marriage. He said she always ran away from him. Pinari sent him, with some other people, to fetch her. I went with the party. When we got there, Kalo hid herself inside her mother's hut, crying bitterly, and nothing would persuade her to come. Her mother refused to force her, and finally we had to return without her. Another deputation was sent over next day, and out of shame her mother made her go; she was brought into Kurtatchi, still crying. She stayed a couple of weeks, during which the marriage was consummated, and then ran away again. Gerigir was shortly afterwards discovered in a compromising situation with one of Pinari's [837] wives, and thought it prudent to absent himself from Kurtatchi, so he went and lived in his wife's village, from which he had not returned when I left.

789 The following 'medicine' may be used by a man whose wife frets for her mother:

[824] *Kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata*).

Take the leaves of this fern and mix them with *oin*, and rub this mixture on to the girl's hair. This will make her cease to long for her mother and she will stay with you.

593 The outset of her married life is a trying time for the girl. Muben was a pathetic figure for many weeks after her marriage with Kakari (Pl. 9), who, having a septic foot and other affairs of

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his own to worry about, did not take much notice of her, in spite of her shy efforts to tend and please him. It was obvious that she was lonely and unhappy, although Kakari's mother, Matēv, was kind to her, and encouraged her to take her share in the life of the village. Before I left she had begun to settle down better, and the two of them might be seen going about together, but Kakari never seemed to appreciate her, though she was acknowledged to be an attractive girl.

LATER MARRIED LIFE

How much affection eventually grows up between the young husband and his still younger wife, it is difficult to say. Etiquette forbids any show of affection in public, and in such personal matters one is obliged, obviously, to rely largely upon inference. So far as my observation goes, it seemed to me that the younger men were often neglectful of their wives. This may in part have been due to shyness, but in more than one case known to me the youth was certainly carrying on an intrigue with another man's wife a couple of months or so after the consummation of his own marriage. Judging from external appearance, the early years of a young couple's life together seem, in many cases, to be difficult and perhaps unhappy. But man and wife eventually become accustomed to each other and settle down, especially when there are children, for the most part amicably enough. In later married life I noticed that deference was shown to a man's first wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood, beyond that bestowed upon subsequent wives, and if she were dead she was referred to in terms implying affection, at least this seemed to be the case with some of the men whose marriages came under discussion in the course of taking their genealogies. It was more difficult to get the women to talk about their husbands. Some old widows looked back upon their married lives with anything but pleasure, but in other cases there was evidence of real affection, an outstanding example being that of the widow, a middle-aged woman still not unattractive, who begged that her husband might be buried in the house, and who was determined not to marry again because she had cared so much for him. This attitude was perfectly comprehensible to the village, and was said not to be unusual.

On the whole, I incline to think that a census of happy, unhappy, and tolerable marriages among these people would reveal about the

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same proportion of each as would be obtained from a similar census in an equal number of households in our own society. But the basis of happiness or unhappiness would in most cases differ; more or less, perhaps, according to what stratum of our own society the sample used for comparison represented. Perhaps one Kurtatchi man's definition of a good wife would be accepted by a certain proportion of European husbands. Speaking of his own wife, he said: 'She looks after me well, and doesn't talk too much, and she doesn't play with other men while I am away.'

I have often wondered at the amount of ill treatment some of the women put up with without having recourse to divorce. They look upon scoldings and beatings and neglect, often undeserved, as a matter of course. Usually quarrels are quickly forgotten and neither party seems to bear malice. I think few women are persistently and continually ill-treated by their husbands. Certain men had a reputation in the village for being cruel to their wives, but on the whole, such cases were not typical, and the men were looked upon with disfavour by the other villagers. But practically every husband in the place beat his wife occasionally. Chastisement is usually administered inside the hut. I never witnessed such an episode, but I have often heard screams coming from a hut and been told that So-and-so's husband was beating her, the word used being *ib*, the same as 'to strike' or 'to fight'. It appears to be done not so much in a burst of sudden anger as deliberately, in cold blood, as a punishment. For example, one man beat his wife because he thought she did not take sufficient care of his old father, with whom they were living, when he was ill. But some men—and it was these who had the reputation for ill-treating their wives—would do it in anger and on very slight provocation, e.g. if a meal was not ready when they wanted it. One of them, who had three wives and was unkind to all of them, told me himself that one of his wives had left him because he beat her with his walking-stick; he was angry with her because she wanted to make his daughter by another wife work for her. He had no hesitation in telling me this, and was certain that the provocation was ample and that the right was on his side. She came back, however, after two days, and, as he put it: 'When I saw her I was not angry any more, and she was not either.' The same man told me, apparently priding himself on his righteousness, that he never beats his eldest wife, since she became blind, because he is sorry for her. But he

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562 neglects her and is surly with her, and even in his best temper
578 seems to take pleasure in teasing her by snatching her pipe out
593 of her mouth or hiding her tobacco. She is looked after by one of his other wives, and would, if she left him, have no one to take care of her material needs.

The fault for an unhappy marriage is not always with the man. The two following instances give the other side of the picture. I transcribe them from my file of 'personal histories'.

562 Dau is a gentle, unassuming man, very fond of his wife Ira, the
578 daughter of Pinari. He is working as an indentured labourer, but
593 on a plantation near enough for him to come to the village fairly
159 often. But although he spends all his earnings on Ira, bringing her loin-cloths and beads, &c., she treats him abominably, refuses to look after him when he comes, will not cook for him, and is always nagging him. Sometimes she cooks food for him and leaves it for [578] another woman to give to him, which is a deliberate insult. She is a bad-tempered woman, and is always having quarrels with the other people, especially with her father, who once gave her a whipping because of the way she treated her husband. She is disliked in the village, and the other women told me that her husband could easily divorce her because she would not cook for him, but that he cared too much for her. She does not want to be divorced because he brings her presents. They have been married only a few months. This is definitely an unhappy marriage with the woman to blame, so far as I can ascertain.

Rus, now aged somewhere in her twenties, was married to Keketsian of Ieta, while both were children, but he died before she had any children by him. She was subsequently married to
[855 Watawi, by whom she has a son Wanias, now aged about 3–4, who
565] will some day be heir to the *tsunaun*, and is completely spoilt by her and the whole village. She is a cross, sulky woman, and never got on well with Watawi, who is said to have tried his hardest to make her happy. Watawi became very ill, but she refused to nurse him or to provide him with food. Finally Mrs. Hadden, for whom Watawi had worked, took pity on him and kept him at her plantation, where she looked after him till he died. All the time he was there, Rus would never come near him, though he continually asked for her, neither would she let him see his baby, of whom he was passionately fond. When she was sent for, she returned angry messages that she couldn't be bothered with him. He had been

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dead for rather less than a year when I was at Kurtatchi. She had not remarried, and seemed to have no wish to do so. The general opinion was that she was a bad wife and because of her reputation for hardness would not easily get another husband. As the daughter of Matĕv and mother of a future *tsunaun*, she has a position in the village in her own right, and Pinari, her *tsoa* (mother's brother), sees to it that she does not want. Here, again, the failure of the marriage seems to have been the fault of the woman, but in this case only one of the pair is personally known to me.

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CHOICE OF A MATE

The prearranged marriage makes it impossible to study the motives that enter into the choice of a mate in the case of young people. They have no choice in the matter. This applies to a man's first marriage always, and in the case of a *tsunaun* probably to the second and perhaps to the third. An older man takes other wives selected by himself according to his own preference, and if the woman he decides upon be young, she has probably little say in the matter, provided her relatives agree to the match. But if she definitely dislikes him, she may prevail on her people not to sanction it. Not infrequently a man chooses as his second wife the full (usually younger) sister of his first. This seems, as far as I could judge, to be a successful arrangement as a rule. I knew fairly intimately several families in which this had been done, and the two sisters seemed to get on very amicably together. In all the instances which came under my personal observation they each had a hut, but were next-door neighbours. In the case best known to me, the husband lived most of the time with the elder sister, but treated both well. There were two children of the first wife's living, the elder adolescent; three others had died. The second wife had one child; two had died. The two households worked and played together very pleasantly, so far as an outsider could judge.

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The women would not admit that they had any say at all in the matter of a husband, even apart from the early betrothal. It did not occur to them to rebel against the customary procedure. But more than one man told me that one of his wives asked him to take her because she liked him so much, although, since I was never able to get this confirmed by the women, I cannot decide how much the statement owed to male vanity, or its denial to female

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If a woman is angry with her husband, her method of retaliation is to go off to her own people, if her village is within reach, taking the youngest child with her. This usually brings the husband over within a day or two, with entreaties to return, because he cannot bear to be parted from his baby. Sometimes his wife will persistently refuse to come back for a long time, and there will be talk of a divorce, but in the end she will relent. This happened again and again in the course of my stay at Kurtatchi.

There is 'medicine' to make a runaway wife come back:

If your wife runs away from you, get some of the leaves of the plant *rakot*, squeeze out the sap, then get some one to steal your wife's pipe, put some of the sap inside the pipe and have it given back to her. As she smokes it her thoughts will turn to you and she will come back.

Sometimes marital quarrels end in the suicide of one or other of the pair. This question is discussed in further detail in Chapter XIV. Suffice it to say in the present context that the examples which came to my notice—by hearsay, however, only—lead me to suggest that these people do not support Havelock Ellis's suggestion that 'among primitive peoples suicide from erotic motives seems to occur chiefly among women' (1933, p. 277).

SOME TYPICAL MARITAL HISTORIES

The information given in the preceding paragraphs was obtained from several informants at different times, and where occasion arose was corroborated by my own observation. Several of the points are illustrated by the matrimonial adventures of Pinari, the *tunuun tʃau* at Kurtatchi, which may be considered typical, except that most men content themselves with three or four wives to Pinari's eleven, of whom, however, only four are now living.

Marital history of Pinari

1. He was betrothed to Rusu, a woman of rank at Ieta, when both were young. She bore him six children, of whom three are living, now adult and married. She had been dead for some years when I was at Kurtatchi, but was always spoken of by Pinari as if he had cared for her.

2. Tchinagot. Was married to Pinari when she was quite a small child, as his second wife, but died before the marriage was consummated. Pinari regretted this very much. He said she was 'very good'.

3. Tchinawoa. Died with her first child, who died also.

4. Tauwo. Had two children by Pinari, one died in infancy, the other is now about six or seven, and is looked after by Pinari. She has

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had two children. Pinari married her after Soli's death, and took one child. The other is being looked after by Soli's people at the village of Ruri. No children by Pinari. 595

11. Sang. Widow of Boie, son of Pinari's mother by another husband. At Boie's death Pinari took her according to custom. She has one child, whom Pinari also took. Pinari said she had no children by him 'yet'. She was still wearing her hair in the fashion of widows when I came to the village, but cut it while I was there. I think Boie had been dead for about a year. [587] [302 765]

At the time of my visit, Pinari was negotiating for a girl at the village of Ieta, on Buka, from which his first wife came. He had been over several times to try to get her, but she did not want him and always ran away into the bush. Her family were in favour of the match, so he probably got her in the end, but they were not forcing her. One night a storm blew down a large tree in the near neighbourhood of the village, blocking the road to it. Pinari told me that he was sure it was caused by magic made by Gomar to spite him, because she was angry that he wished to take another wife. [789]

While he quite clearly prefers Kwimau to any of the others, Pinari pays quite a lot of attention to all his wives, and to their children, whether they are his own or belong to a former husband. He is generous with tobacco, and when he goes to a plantation to sell copra he often brings them some little present from the store. [157]

As a further example of the marriages that take place among these people, I give the history of Sobak, who is a commoner.

Marital history of Sobak

1. Sobak's first wife was Sieli, to whom he was betrothed when both were young. They had no children for some time, then there was a son, who is now about ten. Sieli has been dead for some years. 593

2. His second was Niwuta, whom he married when he was older but she quite a child. He divorced her 'because she had a sore' (probably a tropical ulcer, these being frequent and often very bad in this region). He told me that he said to her: 'You go back to your own village, I don't want to be married to you.' There were no children. She now lives alone at Gowē, a village farther down the coast. She has not remarried. [586] [164]

3. His third, with whom he lives at present, is Tsonakets, who was previously divorced from Takoi of Hanahan (a village on the east coast of Buka), for what reason I do not know. Takoi told Sobak he could have her if he liked. Sobak consulted Pinari, who approved, and had her brought over to Kurtatchi. She has a son, now in his teens, whom

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593 Sobak treats as if he were his own. She is a hard worker, and lets the other women take advantage of her, making her carry the heaviest loads. Sobak does not make any more demands upon her as regards work than most men make on their wives. He always seems kind to her, and says she is a good wife. I have never heard him talk of beating her. Once she went on a visit to relatives at Hanahan and stayed several days. Sobak was very worried, and told me he was afraid some man there was keeping her away, but all was well when she came back.

Tsonakets has a sister, who was also married at Hanahan, but after her husband's death she came to live in Sobak's household at Kurtatchi, bringing her three little boys. Sobak takes care of them all. In the [576] ordinary way he would have married her, but he does not wish to offend the priest by taking another wife, so he says he is not going to do so.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

837 In this society, where marriage at or before arrival at sexual maturity is the rule, it follows that such illicit intercourse as may take place will be between persons each of whom is married to another individual.

837 In the olden days, according to my informants, adultery was
684 regarded as a very serious offence, the penalty for discovery being death to both parties. The man's relatives would be responsible [696] for the exaction of the penalty in the case of the man, and the woman's in the case of the woman, no retaliation being offered on [266] either side. An old cannibal of Saposa further stated that the bodies of such offenders were eaten, but at Kurtatchi they said that this final insult was only for those who committed a particularly abhorrent kind of incest (see p. 68). It seems feasible to suppose that the actual state of affairs may have been idealized a little in reminiscence, and that clandestine intercourse was neither so rare nor so drastically punished as report would lead one to believe. In the tales, honour was often satisfied by a fight, and this is a usual outcome nowadays. In some instances, particularly if the advances of the suitor had been unwelcome, he was taken to the beach, where spears and arrows were shot at him. But apparently he was allowed to shoot in return. In answer to questions, arising out of [685] such stories, I was told that this was a true account of what actually used to happen, not merely a made-up tale. It is noteworthy that the same punishment was meted out to any one caught stealing ceremonial currency.

337 Whatever may have been the state of things in the past, there

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837 578 woman answered: 'She is angry with her husband, because he has gone to meet another woman in the bush.'

Sometimes the lover is bold enough to come to the woman in her own hut. This, if discovered, very considerably aggravates the offence. In the case of Kumun, referred to on p. 112, it seemed to me that Pinari was hardly more angry over the pregnancy itself than he was over the fact that she and her lover had been together in the hut. It turned out that some one who was in their confidence had betrayed them, and Gerigir was caught standing beside her bed while she was lying on it. He made a great point of the fact that he was not lying down with her, but in the end he paid a length of *imun* to Pinari as compensation, though both vehemently denied that he was the father of her expected child. Pinari, however, was not appeased by the payment, even though he accepted it, and Gerigir was still in disgrace when I left, three months later.

837 538 Endless tales are told about such intrigues. A common incident in them is that the child of one of the pair, angry with its parent, perhaps for not giving it something it wanted, spies on the couple, and goes and tells the husband or wife, as the case may be, of its parent's lover what is going on. Whether this happens in real life as often as it does in the tales, I do not know, but it is certain that the children often have a pretty shrewd idea of the state of affairs.

837 Cases of what would in our own society be described as 'enticement' sometimes occur. I select the following instance, which is not an isolated one, from my files: Erut was married to Masor, a man belonging to another village. Pasab, of Kurtatchi, whose [832] first wife was dead, wanted her, and made love magic with *magor* (see p. 121) to cause her to leave her husband and come to him. She did so; her husband divorced her, was given back his ceremonial currency, and Pasab married her. They have one little ● 593 girl. I saw a good deal of their family life, and thought the relations between them, both with each other and with the child, were extremely good. They are always working in one another's company, seem very happy together, and I have not heard any gossip about either of them, which is rather unusual.

832 824 If a man wishes to have his wife back, he may try the following 'medicine':

If your wife has run away with another man, chew the rootlet of the plant *mapis* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture, and spit the mixture

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882 262 elsewhere, and that opportunities for eating the forbidden nuts with little danger of discovery are legion, I suspect that this rule is more honoured in theory than in practice, in spite of the urgent necessity of having a good growth of hair to show at the *watawutʃ*. But considerable stress was laid upon it in all our talks upon the subject, and its theoretical importance is also clear from the fact that fathers, and, less frequently, mothers of boys wearing the hat will voluntarily refrain from eating canarium almonds in sympathy with their sons. Sobak and his wife Tsonakets were doing so while I was in residence at Kurtatchi.

882 264 177 In the olden days the *upi* boys might never be seen in the act of eating, but had to take their food into the *tobar* and consume it in private. They were not allowed to handle knives, so it was the duty of their *amro* to cut up their food for them. This custom is no longer observed.

882 276 They may chew the betel-mixture, but must use with it only the leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is preferred under ordinary circumstances.

III. *Regulations concerning personal appearance.*

882 302 The hair of the boys is never cut or trimmed from the time they go into the bush before the *wapi* ceremony until it is ceremonially cut short at the *wasipsip*. It is pushed up underneath the *upi*, except for a few straggling ends on neck and forehead.

593 302 The fathers of boys wearing the *upi* sometimes lay themselves under a similar prohibition as regards cutting their hair, which they tie up into a knot on the top of the head. This method of hair-dressing is seen in Plate 52. Mothers do not cut their hair over the temples, and do not put paint on it. This custom is not obligatory upon either sex, and is followed only by a few.

826 824 789 There are certain 'medicines' for making the hair grow long, of which the following is a typical example:

Take the long (tap) root of the plant *niyowan* (unidentified). Chew the end of it with the betel-mixture, spit out the resulting mash into your hand and put it inside the hat, pushing it well up to the top. It will pull up the hair and make it grow longer. The longer the root you chew, the longer your hair will be.

882 302 The boys may not wear red paint on their hair, or white paint on their temples, except as prescribed for the various ceremonies, when it is put on by their *amro*. In one case the *amro* of a boy

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look after babies for their mother-in-law instead of for their own mother. In the instances which came under my own observation, they were kindly treated, and some amount of trouble was taken to make them feel at home. Between such visits a girl returns to her own people, and takes up her ordinary life again with them until such time as the marriage ceremony is performed, after which she lives with her husband, unless he signs on as an indentured labourer. In this case she will probably continue to live at home and go about with the other girls of the village as before. There were several girls at Kurtatchi in this position.

One child, Takon (Pl. 7*b*), whose breasts began to develop during the later months of my stay, was living in the hut of her husband, Wasē, though the marriage would not be consummated until she was older. Wasē (Pl. 66*b*), a man somewhere in his early twenties, had another wife about his own age and a third had recently died. Takon was a reserved, quiet child, but appeared to be happy enough. She held her own in the village, and was always on good terms with the other girls both in work and play. She and Nawi were frequently to be seen together, and both spent much time on my verandah.

Even the onset of menstruation makes no violent change in the girl's life. There is nothing here comparable to the conditions found by Margaret Mead among the Manus, where 'puberty for girls means the beginning of adult life and responsibility, the end of play, careless companionship, happy hours of desultory ranging through the village' (1930, p. 175). The girl of the North-Western Solomons goes on with the tasks she has gradually taken up as she has grown older, and continues to play with the girl friends she has gone about with all her life. Nawi, of whom more later, had as her greatest friend and constant companion a girl named Kiots, who had experienced her first menstrual period a year or more earlier, and went about nearly as much with Bolis, a child of five or six, who, though so much younger, seemed to be accepted and treated by her as an equal. Both these friendships continued as usual, after Nawi had been through the ceremony marking her first menstruation.

Under ordinary circumstances, the second great ordeal of a girl's life is the consummation of her marriage. This has been discussed in Chapter III. The aspect of it relevant in the present connexion is that after a childhood which grew gradually into girlhood, during

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593 which her duties and responsibilities were always towards her mother or her mother-in-law, she must now launch out for herself, not only entering into new and often difficult physical relations with a man who is practically a stranger to her, but also assuming the responsibility of providing food for him, of caring for their home, and, probably very soon, of bearing him a child. This great change in her circumstances may take place soon after, or in some cases even shortly before, her arrival at physiological maturity, or it may be delayed for some time.

797 871 177 882 582 The establishment of Mission schools is tending to alter the prospects of the adolescent girl in places within their sphere of influence. The possibility is now open to her of attending boarding-school, and thus of postponing for several years her marriage and, in the case of the younger girls, her betrothal. She is just beginning to assert her right to accept or reject the advances of her suitors, instead of passively acquiescing in a match arranged by her parents. At Petats there were several unmarried adolescent girls. One even announced her intention to remain so, saying that she preferred her freedom. But the point of view of the majority was probably better represented by the girl who said that she didn't want to stay single and have all sorts of things said about her. If occasion arises, the young people may even go so far as to question the authority of the taboo forbidding marriage with certain classificatory relatives. One couple, whom I knew, proposed, to the horror of their parents, to marry in spite of the fact that they stood to each other in the relationship of *mataha* ('brother and sister') since their grandmothers were sisters. In the end, however, the opposition was too strong for them, and the affair was broken off.

797 177 582 It is evident that the whole system of betrothal and marriage will eventually disappear, and be replaced, under the tuition of the missions, by something approximating to our own, involving the break-down of much of the native social structure. Whether they will make more of a success of marriage under these conditions than we do, or than they do under their own system, remains to be seen. On the face of it, and in view of the evidence cited in the Chapter III, there seems reason to think that the early part of married life, at any rate, would be made happier by the change. But it is hard to foretell what effect a radical change such as this is going to have on the life of a primitive community.

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302 from the standpoint of the unaccustomed observer. Other designs seen at various times included smears of red or white round the eyes, a series of white lines across the forehead or obliquely across the cheeks, lines of red dots, &c.

[751 404] Some of this painting has more than a decorative purpose, e.g. a spot of red is put on each temple when starting on a journey, as a protection against the dangers of the road.

302 856 Children's heads are usually kept covered with a mixture of *oin* and coco-nut oil, even if there is no ceremony going on. This is said to make the hair grow and to keep off lice. Some children have their hair rolled into little blobs with a mixture of *oin* and clay.

302 184 856 At Baniu, a village about ten miles east of Kurtatchi, and a few villages farther east of it, but not—at least not now—as far as Tiop on the extreme north-eastern corner, a custom obtains of cutting very short the hair on the front half of the children's heads, and letting the back half grow long. This is done for both sexes. The front half is cut, at a feast, when the child is very small, perhaps two or three years old; the back half remains long for some years more, and is finally cut at a special feast, where the child is given pig to eat for the first time. The reason given to me for this method of hair-dressing is that it makes the child grow strong and healthy. My friends of Kurtatchi said it had never been done in their neighbourhood, although the two districts are in intimate and friendly connexion.

302 593 The father of a boy wearing the *upi* will often let his hair grow long and wear it tied into a bunch at the top of his head (see Pl. 52). This is done because the boy may not cut his own hair; it also shows pride in him. His mother may refrain from cutting her hair short at the temples for the same reason, but does not wear it on the top of her head.

302 589 765 A widow may not cut her hair, but makes it into blobs with clay, without paint, which is forbidden her until a certain stage of the mourning is ended.

302 [412 177] Hair is cut with a sharp-edged shell, usually a species of *Cyrena*, or, nowadays, with a bit of glass, except in the case of those few returned labourers who possess razors or scissors. These lucky ones will often be requested to use their acquisitions on the heads of their friends. Cutting is done in the village, usually on the women's verandah. No special attention is given to the disposal of the ends, which are either thrown away among the other rubbish

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302 or put on the fire. Anybody, apparently, may cut or trim the hair, so long as they do not stand in any of the taboo relationships. Men may do it for women, whether related to them or not. It is regarded [513] as a privilege as well as a duty for the wife to trim her husband's hair on the occasion of a dance or a ceremony. There is no change in the fashion of dressing the hair consequent upon marriage.

302 565 765 During a period of mourning it is forbidden to cut the hair or to put paint on it. After the death of a person of rank this prohibition extends to all the people of the village, for a commoner only to his immediate relatives. The period is terminated by a feast. For some misfortune affecting the whole village a similar prohibition may be enforced. During a part of my visit, several people in the village of Kurtatchi were affected by very bad septic sores and by common consent for several weeks no one put paint on the head or cut the hair, those not affected observing the prohibition as well as the sufferers. When they had all recovered, a feast was held, in preparation for which everybody trimmed the hair elaborately and put paint on it.

Ornaments.

301 Ornaments worn in the hair include carved combs, made of bamboo (Pl. 67, no. 9), flowers, feathers, &c. The tail-feathers of [231] the domestic cock are in great demand on festive occasions, indeed the birds seemed to be valued solely for this purpose. This form of decoration is called *sab*. Small red, green, or yellow parrot feathers are very highly prized, and are stuck into the hair in all directions, like pins in a pin-cushion. The particular kind most admired cannot be obtained in the neighbourhood of Kurtatchi, but comes from a variety of parrot found only in the hills. Flowers are stuck into the hair one on each side of the head above the ears. Small red and yellow ones are chiefly used in this way, but a single large hibiscus is sometimes seen worn over the forehead. I have seen girls wearing round their heads branches hung with limes; this has a very picturesque effect. The leaves of a number of [824] aromatic plants are also worn stuck into the hair, and those of a white variegated form of the fern *kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata* Spring). These white leaves are eagerly sought for in the bush, and women will pull the plants up by the roots and plant them nearer the village. Live butterflies are frequently fastened to the hair by a thin bit of fibre and left to flutter round the head, or their

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opinion had it that the death of the child was due to the 'bad medicine' made by a man of Hanahan to whom its mother had refused her favours. He had intended that she should die also, but this had been prevented by my more powerful medicine. He had then renewed his efforts, this time with the desired result. Far from blaming me for the woman's death, which I had feared might be the case, they applauded me for having circumvented the man's evil intentions in the first instance.

SUICIDE

To commit suicide (*nòg boborin*) is recognized as a death for which magical intervention need not be suspected. Three methods are followed, the individual jumps off a tree or from the edge of a cliff, or hangs himself from the rafters of a hut, or swallows the chewed root of the plant *tsū* which is also used for stunning fish.[1] No case occurred during my visit, but I was told that not long before my arrival Poa, a middle-aged man, had taken his little son (aged 5 or 6 at the time of my residence) to the edge of the cliff and had only just been pulled back in time to prevent him from throwing himself and the boy over, the reason given being that his wife had been angry and had insulted him. The brother of my next-door neighbour, Sobak, hanged himself for a similar reason. A woman now living at Ruri, the 'sister' (actually mother's sister's daughter) of one of the boys at Kurtatchi, hanged herself because her husband beat her, but was discovered in time to be resuscitated. Another woman, the mother of Matarē, also hanged herself, but 'Krapen and Tchub worked on her and she came back'. Besides these actual instances, which were corroborated by the evidence of other villagers, suicide figures in several of the stories of times past (*wasisio*) in my collection. Some or all of these may well have been authentic, but I have differentiated them from the foregoing because no names were given by which the account could be checked. The reasons given were as follows: because his wife refused him intercourse on the ground that it was too soon after her confinement and would therefore harm the child (see p. 157); because his father would not get him a wife; because some one had stolen his ceremonial currency; because he was angry with another man; because her husband beat her.

These reasons may appear extremely trivial to lead to fatal

[1] Cf. Fortune (1932), p. 50.